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drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbehave when they drink.(1)

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer villages, where they would do their planting as soon as they had "pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each village. Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup.
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(2)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation. Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisínimo, which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related villages, asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced, gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

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In the southern part of the reservation the dance lasted four nights(29); in the northern part, a whole month. It was given wherever the family happened to be, either in camp or in a permanent village. "We used to have good times in cactus camp," one informant said, "because somebody would be sure to reach puberty, and then we would dance all the time."(26)

The length of the time of dancing depended on the wealth of the girl's parents, since they must give a meal to the dancers every night. Poor people might omit the dance entirely, trusting to purification by the shaman to relieve the girl from danger. People who were well supplied sent word to neighboring villages and camps as soon as the girl's four-day seclusion was over, and crowds arrived every night to join in the gaiety.

There were several men in any village who knew the appropriate songs. These they might have dreamed during some period of purification, or they might have learned them from others. The position of song leader for this dance was a popular one, since the leader danced next to the maiden. He and other men dancers received no pay except a meal at midnight. Their enjoyment of the dance came from the license permitted. The young girl dancers received gifts from the maiden, "because they stayed up all night with her." If the dance lasted a month, she generally, when it ended, had disposed of all her clothes and ornaments except what she wore.

In this dance men and women stood side by side in two lines which faced each other. They placed their arms over each other's shoulders and pulled their blankets across in front of them to make an unbroken covering for the whole line. This was the only dance where such close contact was permitted.

At the end of one line danced the song leader, with the maiden at his left and the rattle in his right hand. His wife danced opposite. The lines walked back and forth toward each other singing, for there was no choir on this occasion. After each four songs they rested, though the girl herself was not supposed to sit down. Her family provided a nonintoxicating drink of cactus juice or some brew of berries and fruit. For the meal at midnight they might kill a deer or provide a stew of rabbits, beans, and corn.

If the dance lasted a month, more than one song leader had to

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were called by them in turn. Every one who worked received a share of the harvest commensurate, not with his work but with what the owner could spare. The more an owner gave, the higher his repute and the greater his assurance of getting service in his turn. For other activities, such as house building, the workers received only their meals but again they had the assurance of future help.

Work sharing may be considered the basis of the whole arrangement but the group having been formed for this purpose, was kept in running order by constant exhibitions of goodwill. These took the practical form of gifts and gifts of the one commodity which the Papago ever possessed in excess of their need: food.

When a hunter brought home a deer, he went to each main house and presented a portion proportionate to the size of the family there. If there were hunters in that house, his family would soon receive a similar gift: if not it would be any other food they could afford. But with such relatives, there was a distinct obligation not to cease giving even though there should be no return. The investment was a long term affair to be realized on in the future if not the present.

The women treated each other similarly. Whenever a special dish was cooked in one house. children would be sent around to carry portions of it to all the others. Some groups went so far that they interchanged such food gifts every day at the evening meal, the only heavy one. (App. I, 3 C and D. I. 8. C. D and E) "So you were never hungry. Even if you didn't cook one day, a dish would be sure to come in from some of the relatives." As the groups grew larger, not every house could be so treated. (I, 8, A & B). Then a woman would give regularly only to her husband's siblings (I. 3. A. 2; I. 7) with, perhaps, some old people who needed help. Or there might be family cliques and favoritism. (I. 3; I. 9). One woman, who happened to have both brothers and sisters nearby, "always gave to her brothers for she thought the sisters could cook for themselves." But even if certain families were not often included, a gift must be sent to them now and then to keep up good feeling. (I. 2. A; I. 4. A; I. 5. A).

The geographic group had ceremonial obligations as well as economic ones. Every Papago youth was expected to become a "ripe man" through the performance of certain ceremonial acts which conferred a blessing but also subjected him to supernatural dangers. In both danger and blessing the kin were thought to share and therefore, while the youth fasted and bathed to purify himself, the kin abstained from salt and bathed also. When I inquired what

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kin shared the hero's lot in this way, I was given an incredible list extending, in some cases, to the above mentioned five removes — and on both the man's side and his wife's. Such wholesale purification would have disrupted the life of several villages but, on further inquiry, it appeared that those at a distance "felt the power would not reach so far." A second cousin, or even a third, living in the same village would "think it safer" to bathe and go saltless but a sister who was far away might take no precautions at all.

The same considerations applied to the gift giving. At the war purification an elaborate dance was performed by paid dancers, the pay being furnished by the hero's kin. There were no stated obligations." "If his father had nothing to give, an uncle might do it all." Or even a "distant uncle" *if he lived near*. The underlying idea seems to be that this payment was an investment in blessing. The hero, when he became a "ripe man" would enjoy a material success, either as a hunter or as a paid singer and his neighboring kin would naturally share in the proceeds. The one who had given most would be repaid accordingly.

We have pictured the geographic group, selected by circumstance and economic necessity, as the most important one. But the duties toward this group did not preclude relationships with other kin and these were kept up, often under great difficulties. Ties with the nearest kin, such as parents or children, were not allowed to lapse no matter what the distance and other relatives when they became neighbors, were immediately included in the gift giving circle. (I. 1. D; I. 4. B, I. 6. D. 2; I. 7. B. 2). But there was a general range of duties to be observed toward any class of relatives, geography permitting, and these may be taken up for each class separately.

SIBLING CLASS. Siblings were brought up in the same one-room house but a sex distinction began very early. Boys followed the men, learning to hunt and to till the ground, girls kept with the women, gathering food, fetching wood and water, grinding corn and making baskets. The fear of the menstruating woman caused a separation between the two groups so that even husband and wife were seldom together during the day. Boys played together and, when they wanted more companionship, sought out their male cousins who generally lived near. Girls formed a group with their female cousins.

Between brother and sister as between the remoter "siblings" of opposite sex, there was a mild respect relationship. No brother and sister would stay alone in the house at night or be seen out together. Any sister had a special duty to prepare food for her brother, even

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Though women had few ceremonial duties of their own, the obligations of a husband often reflected on his wife, or wives, automatically, thus emphasizing the unity of the spouses. When a man was ceremonially purified, a wife went through the same ordeal mitigated only slightly because of her sex. At its end, she had the title of "ripe". Her relatives automatically shared her blessing and her danger and, to protect themselves, they abstained from salt and bathed every four days. A list of affinals purified with I. 1. A. 1 is as follows: wife, wife's parents, wife's father's brother, wife's siblings in another village, with their spouses and children. The others were far away or "they would have been purified too." 593 562 607

Yet this close relationship depended on the birth of a child to the young couple. After that event, the new spouse was known by affinals as "father of my grandchild", "mother of my elder brother's child", etc. In the absence of a child there was no word available but "that young man" or that "young woman." 551 607

Death or divorce did not prevent the use of kinship terms, since these depended on the child, but they often broke up economic relationships and the ceremonial ties which derived from them. On the death of a spouse, the levirate and sororate might come into play and then all relationships remained unchanged. But these rules were by no means inviolable. If a wife died and her sister did not replace her, the children normally remained in the husband's home group, cared for by his parents. If a husband died, the wife returned to her own home group taking, at least, the young children. But if she were old and her sons able to care for her, she might remain where she was. 768 607

Gift giving relationships with the affinals depended on whether the widowed spouse was within geographic reach. One family group shows the dead wife's relative as being within the intimate economic circle since they had land there. (I. 5. D. E). No purification is recorded for this family so we cannot tell whether a ceremonial tie was felt also. 431 607 768

There is no record of gifts to geographically distant affinals after a spouse's death but relatives would, if possible, remember the children and visit them occasionally. Such children could come back for help if they failed to get any group of their own. In divorce, conditions were much the same. The woman left the man's house and probably married into a new family group so that the old economic arrangements were necessarily broken up. All her ties, economic and ceremonial, were with the new group. 768 602

These instances show that, in Papago kin behavior, sex is always important since men and women work and play in sex limited 571

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ECONOMICS

511 556 Poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Papago did not hoard property; they did not quarrel about land boundaries; they were constantly giving, as though from an inexhaustible supply. The answer is that the supply, meagre though it was from the modern point of view, was sufficient, for their simple needs and more.

431 Food was the principal gift and food will not keep in that hot country except in dehydrated form. Because of the migratory life, it must be left unguarded in storehouses and caches, subject to attack by animals or enemies. Better to dispose of any surplus while it was available and palatable and thus invest in good will! And anything but starvation rations was considered a surplus. The [262] standard meal was corn meal gruel: luxuries much beyond that were donated with lavish hand and never missed.

Giving became the regular Papago investment and the franker individuals say so. It never reached the extravagant proportions demanded in the Plains for all Papago life was in a gentler key. But one who gained the reputation of stinginess had damned his prospects in village and family life while the lavish giver not only achieved honor but had a continual income pouring in. For all gifts were returned, in equal quantity and more. The constant exchange [438] of goods in the form of gifts was the Papago equivalent for trade and merged only occasionally into trade in the stricter sense. Papago economics involves principally the study of groups which had gift relations.

The center of the system was the patriarchal family which, rather than the individual, must be taken as the unit both of property holding and of gift exchange. The family was a business concern, producing and disposing of goods under the direction of its male and female heads, and such production meant a full time occupation. This was not the sort of society where the men, when not hunting or [461 562] fighting, had the privilege of leisure: the men were day laborers like the women. All rose with the morning star, rested in the heat of noon and did not stop work until dark. It was slow motion labor, for the heat forbids haste. But it was unremitting. Industry was the prime virtue and no one could get a mate or keep one without it.

221 462 We have noted the division of labor between male and female: a division so sharp that it kept the two sexes in separate groups during

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224 423 Now that cattle raising has taken the place of hunting, its arrangements are very similar. A village unit uses the neighboring range as it formerly used the hunting grounds but the range has no definite limits and no objection is made if the cattle of other units are found there. A few families have accumulated enough cattle so that their ownership ranks as a business, managed on modern lines. Many, however, sell only two or three head a year to local buyers and butcher about as many for the family as they formerly butchered deer. They distribute gifts of beef just as they once distributed venision.[1]

FOOD GIFTS

431 Food was the currency of the Papago economic system. Small gifts of it were continually passing within the intimate family group, and penetrating now and then to further connections. We have described under kin behavior the frequent interchange of cooked food within the geographic unit. There was no particular rule as to quantity. One family gave two large wooden spoonfuls to every household at every meal; another, cooked for each meal, a four gallon pot and distributed it all, sometimes leaving nothing for the home household which subsisted on gifts. Other households sent gifts only once or twice a week or when they had something unusual. The ratio of giving was determined by custom with each group as the elaborateness of Christmas gifts might be determined in a White family. But it was kept up regularly, each gift being reciprocated with a like amount.

431 484 Gifts made to more distant kin were generally at the time of harvest but there was an exception when kin came to visit. People travelling through a village made the home of any relative their stopping place and then they were not only fed but given cloth, buckskins, beads or anything the family had. It was a sort of insurance which made it safe for the host family to travel in their turn for there was a strong feeling that land outside one's own village unit was dangerous ground.

736 [554] Besides the gifts which cemented relatives together, the Papago had a system of charity. Although they did not feature generosity as did certain Plains Indians it was a highly appreciated virtue and a man known to practice it had a high status in the community. No one was ever rich and the little extra that any family could accumulate was better invested in good will than kept. Most dependents were cared for by their family groups but in the unusual case that

[1] This section was written before the new regulations for cattle raising were instituted by the U. S. government.

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someone was hungry while there was food in the village, he had only to sit outside a house where people were eating. It was bad manners to ask for food but equally bad to fail to offer it. One informant objected to having any house too near her own because "they will see us eat and we will have to send them something." If the hungry person owed his trouble to laziness or a stupid wife, he would be talked about and shamed into reform.

Occasionally, disaster overtook a whole family through illness or enemy raids and then it was the responsibility of the village to take care of the sufferers, the most generous man getting the most credit. It is safe to say that no one ever went hungry while there was food in the village for farmers, food gatherers and hunters would all share with him. No definite return was expected except general respect and good will but "if a person got the name of being stingy, he always had a hard time. Even his relatives didn't help him more than they had to" (26).

Papago gift basket.
Quantities are measured by the lines parallel to the basket rim.

In the constant interchange of gifts, certain equivalents had been worked out. The usual container was a basket bowl with a black pattern involving many lines parallel to the rim. A person receiving such a basket would note to what line the corn or beans reached and then fill it to the same point for the return gift. To fill it even higher was an act of virtue but to fill it short of the line was to commit social suicide. The bowls were made in two or three standard sizes so that almost any bowl formed a rough measure. The women's carrying nets were also about the same size with patterns which served for markers. One carrying net was equal to two ordinary basket bowls. There was a rough understanding as to the number of squash or jars of cactus syrup which equaled these measures for corn and beans.

TRADE

Such measures were always kept in mind in the exchange with non-relatives. It was not trade in the full sense, for there was no

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431 bargaining and the merchant looked upon his product somewhat
437 like a ceremonial gift which was being reciprocated. The difference between it and a gift to relatives was that the exchange was supposed to be equal, with no effort of one giver to outdo the other, and that it established no relations for the future.

The most common gift of this sort was venison. Many families included no hunters at all so when a deer was butchered in the village, they would go and proffer a basket of beans or corn. The hunter, when he had distributed what was proper to his relatives, would "give" a piece to the donor of the beans. The latter never specified how much he wanted or from what part but accepted his share like a gift. The same thing is done at present with beef. Usually there was no opportunity for more organized trade for the family needed the whole product. However, I heard of two young men from a family of hunters (I, 1, A. 5, 17) who used occasionally to take their kill to a village where wheat was raised. The villagers had been told it was wheat they wanted and brought baskets of varying sizes, receiving what the hunters thought was their equivalent in venison. In the same way salt, saguaro syrup and melons or other special crops could be "given" to the neighbors. after family demands had been satisfied.

Barter for such luxuries as buckskin and cotton cloth had more of a commercial tinge, for here the purchaser had special needs and could not take any piece offered. Still, there was as little deviation from the gift pattern as possible. The purchaser brought his gift and stated what he wanted. The seller rarely asked for any different pay since the purchaser probably had but the one thing. If it was not enough, the seller reciprocated with poor skins or a small sized mat or blanket. If the gift was entirely too small he might send the buyer home to get something in addition. If it was still to small, he would not complain but would avoid dealing with him in future.

[887] The dresser of deerskin was generally an old hunter who had an equipment of scraping post, tools and dying pots and who traded for his skins with younger men. For a skin, dressed and dyed, he expected corn and beans amounting to two bushels. For the trousers and shirts made later in Papago history, he might receive a horse.

286 Only a few old men in the whole country understood weaving,
431 for very little cotton grew in Papagueria and since it was bartered
437 from the Pima, the weaving was usually done by them also. But
887 ocassionally a family who had been working for the Pima would take their pay in cotton. If they traded for it, the price for enough to make a blanket was half a sack of salt, a buck skin, a hair rope or

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two baskets of beans and corn. Most old men knew how to spin cotton on the thigh and the purchaser's family might spin it or call in the neighbors for a working bee, giving them their meals meanwhile. If they brought raw cotton to the weaver, he got it spun in the same way. The chief articles made were large blankets to sleep on and narrower strips for womens' skirts. For the large blankets the price was a horse or its equivalent in produce or buckskin. The skirt the woman bought, herself, with a good willow basket of her own make.

Plaited baskets, plaited mats, netted carrying baskets and pots were made by elderly women, too old for the heavy work of corn grinding and food gathering. They were not such expensive articles as skins and cloth, an olla being worth enough beans or corn to fill two basket bowls while for a mat the measure was a winnowing bowl.

But besides this exchange among themselves, some Papago made a business of trading trips to the Pima, to Mexico and to the Yuma. These were a winter occupation on the same basis as hunting and sometimes combined with it. The Papago were homeless in the winter and many of them, instead of camping at the Well village wandered about trading their goods or their labor for enough to support them until the wet season came again.

Russell gives a list of the goods which the Papago, supposedly so poor, managed to get together for trade with the Pima. It includes giant cactus seeds, cholla fruit, agave fruit in roasted cakes and syrup, Rcat (wild potato), wild gourd seeds, small peppers, acorns from the Bellota oak, prickly pear syrup, baskets of agave leaf, sleeping mats, carrying baskets and fibre to make them, maguey fibre for picket lines, dried meat of deer, mountain sheep and cows tallow .... deer and beef, ... cheese, buckskin, livestock, red and yellow ochre, buff-colored ochre for baskets, salt.[1] What they wanted in return was food, principally wheat, which they themselves raised only in small quantities. But frequently their price was corn and beans enough to keep them alive. The people who used this expedient came from the northern villages, the Archie and Kuhatk groups and Káka, who were the Pimas' nearest neighbors. They often had relatives in the Pima country or at least friends and they pursued their exchange in the same manner they used at home.

The southern villages had their contacts with Mexico where they took principally dressed skins, cooked mescal from the mountains and their labor. They brought back knives and clothing and the knowledge of a more advanced culture than was to be found on the

[1] Russell pp. 93—94.

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464 contacts of the southern villages made for more flexibility and disorganization than there was in the north.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS

431 796 The Papago had one ceremony which involved large payments between villages. Ostensibly they were for ceremonial services which brought blessing and rain but they performed, as well, two very practical functions. One was that the village making the payments could invest its harvest on a much wider scale than that permitted by family gifts and the other, that gift relationships were cemented with what might be called foreigners: the members of another village and even of another dialect group. The ceremony was the dance of greeting and blessing which preceded intervillage games.

425 526 796 Games were played between two village units or groups of units, the same opponents challenging each other alternately, year after year. The time chosen was autumn, when the crops were in and when there was not only leisure but goods for gifts and gambling. [533 535] The challenging village always "sang for" its opponent, either a rudimentary operetta, in which costumed dancers performed to singing, or a series of songs which glorified the important residents of the host village. Songs of both kinds brought good luck which, according to Papago ideas of reciprocity, should be paid for. [577]

431 796 When a village had been challenged and had paid it was etiquette for it to issue the challenge next year and be paid in turn. After that, either village was at liberty to pick out a new opponent but, as a rule, they continued together over a long period and established definite gift relationships. But occasionally, a village which had had a poor harvest would strike out in a new direction and sing for somebody "rich". Russell[1] mentions the Papago (probably the northern villages) singing regularly for the Pima, and some Papagos from Somerton (Sand Papagos?) came yearly in regalia, marched and danced with rattles for the Yuma.[2] But the wealthy agriculturists were too busy with their own affairs to need this form of exchange and the visits were seldom returned.

The visiting party arrived a day early, camped outside the host village and sent in a costumed messenger with a formal challenge to games. The messenger carried a bundle of sticks, each representing a household head in the visiting party, who would expect a gift. If the household head could not come, some younger male represented him, but gifts were made only to households, not individuals.

[1] Russell p. 171. [2] Gifford, 1932, p. 262.

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The sticks were given to the Keeper of the Meeting who then called a council in which each of his households volunteered to take one of the sticks — two if necessary — and provide gifts for "the name". Everyone had been saving for this purpose since to give now meant not only blessing for his village but honor and good luck for himself, and return gifts next year.

In this way, there were gradually formed what might be called gift partnerships. A householder, having once selected a "name' as the recipient of his gifts, continued to take the same one, year after year. He called this vantage point among the strangers *ñyi cwiñ* (my opposite) and "felt toward him like a relative". It was an excellent device for securing friendly relationships in foreign territory.

The relation of opposities might continue for generations and very often led to marriage alliances. But it was more flexible than a kin tie and could be broken off if either party failed in his obligations. "If they didn't give much one year, we knew they had a poor harvest and we gave even more when it was our turn. But if they kept on that way, we knew they were stingy and we asked in meeting for another name" (26). But there was a good deal of latitude in choosing the names for new ones were always appearing and old ones dropping out. A householder might try some new name in addition to his regular gift partner, just to see how it worked out and often people threw out small gifts in various directions, as an overture to new relationships.

The visitors had a few payments to make on their side. As they danced, it was the polite thing for members of the host village, generally old women who were beyond shyness, to skip beside some chosen dancer. Then his parents would run out with a basket or ornament taken from the goods they expected to gamble next day. When the dance was over, all the women of the host village joined in serving cooked food to the guests. Then the householders made piles of their donations and each called out to his gift partner: "Come and get your pay over here." Some of the gifts remembered were:

Santa Rosa to Kuitatk (43)

Gift: One large winnowing basket each of cooked squash, cooked beans and ash bread.

Return: One winnowing basket each of dried beans and dried corn and six fresh pumpkins.

On the last occasion an entire stranger made overtures to the family with a sack of roasted corn and another with a jar of cactus

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796 431 syrup. These were reciprocated within the month with a sack of beans and a sack of wheat but later the same strangers gave presents again and a regular partnership was established.

Kuitatk to San Xavier (26)

Gift: A saddle (made of a straw-stuffed bag in the Papago manner) with two saddle bags, one filled with beans and one with corn. A coiled basket filled with seeds of the giant cactus (used to make flour).

Return: A horse with a leather Mexican saddle, a scrape, a willow basket of chick peas and another of cooked tortillas.

Pima to Kuitatk (26)

Gift: A cotton sheet full of threshed wheat, a gray woolen blanket, a willow basket bowl filled with cooked squash.

Return: A two year colt, two plaited sleeping mats, a decorated clay pot containing about three gallons of cooked beans, a plaited tray bowl about a foot square filled with tortillas.

796 431 576 The etiquette of distribution was for the giver's wife to hand the goods to the wife of the recipient who would carry them home on her back. But the giver's wife often playfully chased her "opponent", pelting her with tortillas and syrup; a symbol, perhaps, of the enmity between the two villages which was now a joke. The giver placed the stick representing the name of his "opposite," in his corn bin, where it brought increase.

796 431 The use of a village name, in auspicious ceremonial circumstances, was always a service to be paid for by village residents. The special songs for rain were sung at the drinking ceremony, given at each main village for its whole unit but all visitors were invited to attend and share the blessing. If such a visitor heard the name of his own locality mentioned in the descriptions of the coming of rain clouds, he must provide a gift, for the mere singing of the name in such a connection would bring rain. Visitors used to come prepared with gifts but a recent one had nothing to hand over but his cowboy hat. The same principle holds in the curing songs, which describe the habits of the animal guardians. Any locality mentioned in the description will have blessing and its residents must show they are not stingy.

431 783 727 The second important occasion for ceremonial payments, was the purification of an Enemy Slayer. This man, during the sixteen days of his retirement, had a ceremonial godfather who called him by the same term used by a senior paternal uncle and who was, afterward,

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treated like an uncle in the matter of gifts. There were no clan, moiety or kin restrictions on the guardian's appointment. Here was another expedient for establishing relationships of trust with non-relatives. 431 783 727

The sixteen days of retirement were succeeded by a public ceremony when the Enemy Slayer was purified by the singing of men who had been through the same experience. They formed a kind of unorganized priesthood and were not paid. But the Slayer's weapons and, according to some, the scalp also, were purified by a special dance, performed by people of another village. The *kapetua* (leaping dance) was a graphic representation of a man in battle, performed with the warrior's own weapons. Any agile young man familiar with war technique was eligible to do it and groups of them habitually practiced. Women might follow them, carrying weapons and imitating their movements. A victory in war was often followed by intervillage games in celebration but even if it was not the time for this, all neighboring villages were invited to the purification ceremony "because the warriors suffered for all". Among them might be several men prepared to do the leaping dance. Paying the dancers was the duty of the hero's family and particularly those who formed part of his geographic unit and would share his honors and good luck. But a scalp brought into the village gave it rain and any villager who helped in the payment for this would have specially good luck with his crops. [793] [535] [777]

One dance was performed for each Enemy Slayer, sometimes by the same performers, sometimes by different ones. After each dance the two leaders, who bore shield and club, should receive horses or cows (or a bit of manure representing them) while the others had lesser gifts. The hero's father and uncles should give the animals and any of them who could, provided the gift. "He didn't get anything back. Just good luck." 431 535 727 783

If the family could afford no animals, some one else would volunteer for the honor of the village, and probably be paid back in time by gifts from the family though the statement is that "he did not want anything. He did it for the village." It was at this time that the generous man got his reward "for if the hero's father had not been stingy, then everybody would help him make gifts "but otherwise, the provision would be meagre and the other villages would "talk about him and his son." This was disgrace. 431 727 783 [626]

The gifts collected were placed in two piles near the dance ground, one pile for men and one for women, and a man and woman of the hero's family were selected to distribute them. There follows a list from a ceremony at Kuitatk, about 1860. The hero, in this case,

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431 727 783 was a mature man, with no father to make his gifts and those contributing were:

Enemy Slayer: A horse, and a dressed buckskin
Enemy Slayer's younger brother: a horse, and dressed buckskin
Another younger brother: a willow basket
Another younger brother: a dyed cotton belt and a buckskin
Sister: a plaited mat and a willow basket.
Younger brother's son: a basket of corn and beans
Sister's son: a basket of corn and beans.
Children of the other siblings gave baskets of food. There were a few gifts from villagers not remembered. (26)

525 After this ceremony and after the intervillage games described above, there was always gambling: the occasion *par excellence* for exchange of goods on a large scale with people who were otherwise strangers. The Papago had no public markets and the people who had opportunity to travel for trade were comparatively few. But, for the intervillage games, several villages might move bodily to one spot taking with them all their worldly possessions to bet on the games. This formed one of the principal occasions for distribution of goods and it was often by this means that Mexican knives and cloth found their way to the northern villages and American goods to the south.

The games played have been described under another heading but the method of exchange may be noted. The Papago used, for matching bets, a word which means literally "to meet" and they matched the stakes article by article. If a buckskin shirt was bet on one side, a shirt of equal value must be found among the stakes on the other and the two tied together. Baskets, pots and skins must be placed two and two. Horses and cattle must be in the same corral but since it was at some distance from the racetracks, pieces of manure were tied together to represent the animals. When the games were over, the winner took both articles. Beside the public games, there was a great deal of private betting constantly going on, between women and men alike. It was no uncommon thing for a person to be stripped of everything he owned and the ceremonial aura which hung about all games thus lent sanction to a movement of goods which might not have taken place otherwise, among people with so little surplus for trade.

RECENT CHANGES

178 The above system of economics prevailed in the childhood of present old informants. At that time, two gradual changes were going on. The disturbed condition of Mexico was causing movement

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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[431] [585] slight interchange of gifts usually took place, rather as a courteous gesture than an economic procedure. The only other formality was for the youth to sleep at the house of the girl for the first four nights while the marriage was consummated. After that they went to live with his family.

But before the marriage took place, the parents allowed about a month to elapse while they trained their children for the new status. The training took the same form of nightly admonition which had been given during childhood. Both young people were instructed to be industrious and to show consideration to each other. The girl, whose home would now be with her husband's family, was told that she must take over the work for her mother-in-law. A sample of such admonition by a girl's father follows:

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to do. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make your home there. It has been here, but now you belong there. Stay home, don't run around. Do your work, carry the wood, cook something. Any work you see, you do it.

Don't go off to peoples' houses and walk around and gossip. Gossip may spoil a good home. That husband of yours, listen to him. Don't talk when he's talking, for he is like a chief to you. Don't beg him to take you with him here and there, but if he wants you to go, go, whether you want to or not. Don't one day get mad at your new family and think you can run home: a day will come when your husband will want to visit us and will bring you. Now that's your home and if you are lucky, you will grow old and die there. That is the way it is." (26)

864 Both young people were also given sex instruction. Up to this time, girls and boys had been kept rigidly separate. Girls were rarely out of sight of their mothers, in the house or on food gathering expeditions. They were expected never to speak to a man unless he were a relative, when they should offer him food and then leave him. If a strange man approached the house, they should run out and hide.

This inhibition had now to be broken down in favor of a particular man. The girl's mother said to her:

"You will now have a husband as all women do. If you did not, you would be unnatural. You must not be afraid of him. Try to do as he wishes without restraint. That is what women are for. Do not object or run away. We are bringing this man to you because it is best." (7)

The boy's father also instructed him:

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Your wife has not known men. Do not frighten her. If she runs away from you, do not follow her. Wait for her mother to deal with her. Be patient."

When the parents felt the instruction was sufficient, they would confer again. The girl's parents might say: "Our daughter is ready now. We have taught her all we can. Watch her behavior and if she does not do right, instruct her." The boy's parents replied: "You do the same for us. Our boy should know his duty but if he does not, you should complain."

The boy was then sent to spend his first four nights with his bride. He did not come in the daytime, "because he would be ashamed". He entered the hut after dark and left before morning. The pattern evidently demanded that a well-brought up girl should show fright at such a time for the admonitions and accounts of marriage always mention a terrified bride. One informant said she ran around the house until her mother caught her. Another hid in the large granary basket and had to de dragged out (27). This was done by her family, not by the bridegroom.

On the fifth day, the bridegroom having left before dawn, the bride's mother escorted her to her new home. The bride took nothing with her because it would not be good manners to do so until she was established, but her mother brought the groom's mother a small gift. The groom's family, if they were well-to-do people, gave the bride a buckskin dress and might also make a gift to her mother. It was not obligatory, merely out of good will, "when we had something". An informant thus described the formalities:

"He (the bridegroom) left our house in the morning and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present.... We stood out behind their house and waited to be invited in.... My mother-in-law came out, took the syrup from my mother's basket and put it away. Then she came out with some beans and corn and filled the carrying basket. She said to me, 'I have put the mat for you.' So I went into the house and my mother went home. My mother-in-law came to the mat she had placed and laid on it a waist and skirt and some beads." (26)

The young people lived in the house with the groom's parents until they had one or more children. They were still practically under tutelage; the boy working and hunting with his brothers under his father's direction, the girl doing the heavy housework for her mother-in-law, often with several sisters-in-law to help her.

As a privilege of the married state, the girl might now be seen at ceremonies and dances, particularly the puberty dance which

4: Joseph et al D.E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste. The Papago like privacy and respect the same desire for it in others.

Despite their quiet and controlled behavior, there is nothing somber or morose about the Desert People nor do they lack interest in what goes on around them. They are extremely observant and curious about details. With their friends they gossip constantly, but to be vindictive or to show off is not regarded with approval.

Though the reserve with which Papago greet a white stranger is often called "stolid" by people who do not know them, facial expressions are pleasant. Among themselves they laugh at the endless joking that goes on among family members, over a comic incident, a child's improper behavior, a misstatement, or their own embarrassment. They love to sing, and, in any Papago group, smiles and laughter are constant accents to conversation.

Gifts serve as acknowledgment among the Desert People for their language has no phrase for "thank you"; too, they give because they like giving, and the person who does not is thought to be not quite Papago.

THE DESERT

It is no wonder that the Papago were not pushed off their land as were many other Indians. This area is one of the hottest and driest in the country, a land in which, with experience and hard work, a family can make a living; but it offers little in the way of surplus.

The Papago country, often referred to by its Spanish name of Papaguería, is a part of what natural scientists call the Lower Sonoran Desert, an area extending north and east to the Mongollon Rim in Arizona, westward into southeastern California, and southward along the western coast of Sonora and Sinaloa in Mexico. It is characterized by a basin and range topography, extreme drought and torrential rainfall, and great changes in daily and seasonal temperatures. A series of small ranges of rugged mountains run roughly northwest to southeast, with wide alluvial valleys marked by networks of washes or arroyos.[4] Elevation of valley floors varies from 1,400 to 2,600 feet, but the mountains on the whole are not high enough to affect rainfall except for the Baboquivaris on the eastern edge, where the tallest peak reaches 7,740 feet and seems to keep all the surrounding desert under its eye.

Rainfall in Papaguería is not only scarce but unpredictable. Rains come in the winter months and again from July through September. The gentle winter rains fall steadily over the whole area, sometimes for several days at a time,

4. A wash or arroyo is a stream channel which carries water only after the rains. Water rushing down the wash rapidly covers adjacent lands in what are known as flash floods.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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or four related men will do their plowing, weed-cutting, or harvesting together. A large cattle-owner will pay his relatives in cash, but the usual return is in labor. 596

Associated with the necessity for co-operation is the custom of exchanging gifts among relatives. In the old days gifts—usually of food—were exchanged frequently and regularly between related households. No return was asked, but the recipient was always expected to make a similar gift in the future. It is probable that this device was developed to insure the survival of the group by more equitably distributing the supply of food and other necessities, although it was never mere barter. Together with the custom of assisting relatives, the gift exchange was a form of investment, as Underhill points out.[8] The custom acquired overtones of social significance, and the gift became a symbol of esteem and solidarity among kinfolk. Today if a family has a surplus of anything—as when a steer is butchered or many rabbits are killed—portions are sent to members of the extended family,[9] and sooner or later a return gift is received. No thanks are voiced, except indirectly to other people through praise of the giver's generosity. Although the gift exchange seems to have lost most of its economic character and to have survived only as a social custom, it is still important. If individuals or families who can do so do not give or return gifts, they are looked at askance. 602 431

All members of the extended family have a strong feeling of responsibility toward one another. If an old couple live alone, a child is often sent to live with and help them. If they are in need and their own children are unable or unwilling to take care of them, the relatives feel it is their duty to help. So strong is this feeling that, when the distribution of relief supplies was begun during the depression, the Papago requested that some form of work be required in return, lest the system of family responsibility break down and the solidarity and independence of the people be destroyed. Throughout the lean years, the number of families continually on relief rolls remained very small. 596

Family relationship also carries an obligation to settle disputes amicably. Regarding one suit brought over the division of a field among relatives, the villagers remarked, "And they are closely related! They should be able to settle it among themselves without having to take it to court and say all those mean things." Papago believe that recourse to legal authority should be taken only by those who are not related. The old system is breaking down, and disputes which would have been settled by relatives in the old days are now being brought to court. In the eastern districts of the Reservation the effective sanc- 596 578 691

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 42, 188.

9. Gift exchange is now being extended to include close friends who are not relatives.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

products. However, his visit may have followed a season when no crop was planted on account of late rains, such as Kino[26] cited in 1701 in the vicinity of San Rafael del Actúm Grande (in southern Arizona), where no maize had been raised by the Papago that year because of a like situation.

All our informants agreed that wild plants and animals formerly constituted a much larger, and much more dependable, fraction of the total Papago food supply than did cultivated plants. Seasonally women devoted themselves to the gathering of wild foods while men and boys hunted rabbits. When the wild foods ripened, large quantities were gathered and stored, but, just before the giant cactus harvest, food became very scarce, as indicated by one of their names for the period that would correspond to our month of May, *ko'ohk macat*, "the painful moon." One informant said that when he was a boy it was not uncommon to "be so hungry that a person became dizzy when he stood up." As in the past, so today, the Papago utilize much more wild plant and animal food than do the Pima; in fact, it is now comparatively rare to find the Pima gathering wild foods of any kind, while many Papago still utilize them to some extent as a matter of necessity, for Papago agriculture is today almost as precarious as in olden times.

Underhill[27] has well pointed out that poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Much the same outlook is still to be observed among the Pima, despite their deculturation. The Pimans did not hoard property; they were constantly making gifts, chiefly of food, for their food supply, meagre though it seems viewed from our standard of living, was more than sufficient for their simple needs, and anything beyond the bare necessities for sustaining life was regarded as a surplus. Papago migratory life, involving the difficulty of food storage, added to the problems of preserving food in so hot a land, greatly fostered

[26] Bolton, *loc. cit.*
[27] Underhill, *Papago*, pp. 90-2.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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Pima NU29

this spirit of giving. But not only was the Papago practice of giving motivated by economic considerations; generosity was a high virtue and giving was truly an investment in good will. One who secured a reputation for penury definitely lost caste in village and family life. Moreover, all gifts were returned in equal quantity and more. Such continuous exchange of goods in the form of gifts constituted the Papago equivalent for trade but only rarely attained the status of actual trade.

In addition to the extensive system of exchange of goods among themselves, some Papago made trading expeditions to the Yuma. They also journeyed to the middle Gila, the San Pedro and the Indians in the Altar Valley, then later among the Mexicans of various parts of Sonora. This was done particularly at harvest time, Papago from the northern villages traveling to the Gila where they had relatives and friends, those from the southern settlements being in closer contact with Mexico, particularly the Altar Valley. At these places they traded numerous articles and labored in return for food, in historic times chiefly wheat, but formerly maize and beans, as well as cotton. This was observed in 1740, later by Anza;[88] again in 1863-64, and in 1893 by Whittemore,[89] who also noted that when the Papago became very hungry they would journey to the Gila and present for the Pima a "Begging Dance" which had a specific form and lasted two or three nights, in return for which each Pima family was expected to contribute fifty to one hundred pounds of wheat.

In Mexico a few Papago worked as cowboys and at miscellaneous tasks, for which they were paid in money. Such contacts resulted in a more rapid deculturation and disorganization than occurred in the northern villages. Specifically these villages in the south, some of which had raised cattle since Kino's day, began about a century ago to acquire cattle in larger numbers. As a result of hire for money among the

[88] *Documentos*, 3rd ser., IV, 858; Bolton, *Anza*, II, 17.

[89] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1863, p. 384; *ibid.* for 1864, p. 153; Whittemore, in *Among the Pimas*, pp. 81-3.

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

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[293]

which were several bells and sea-shells strung on deerskin thongs.

In the afternoon of August 4, Manuel Ortega, aided by all the other house-owners, made four small piles of sand in front of his house, and later two men, wearing deer-skin masks with feathers, and girdles with jingling shells and bells, came to the house, headed by a leader and followed by a crowd of men and boys. The leader placed pinches of cornmeal on each pile of sand, and a bunch of medicine-feathers on one of the piles. Four times he put the pinches of meal around, and then one of the men shot a small arrow into one of the sand-piles. A [431] pail of figs was presented to the performers by the house-owner, and in an hour the performance was repeated. This is a kind of blessing, and is said to insure good luck to the household for the ensuing year.

On the night of the fourth everybody [346] went out to the fiesta grounds, where two booths, made of the wood of the saguaro cactus, semicircular in form and about 100 feet apart, had been built. In each of these, at short intervals, two men having

CUCURBITS

244
[262] **Pumpkin, *hahri (Cucurbita pepo)***
Cushaw, Crookneck pumpkin, *caskate'ki (Cucurbita moschata)*
Muskmelon, *uuwi hahri (Cucumis melo)*
Watermelon, *kihpi (Citrullus citrullus)*

Both *Cucurbita pepo* and *C. moschata* are commonly regarded as aboriginal species among the Papagos, although this has not been definitely established. The Spanish records refer to the Pima-Papago people as growing *calabasas* (10, 18), a word which was used quite loosely in old Spanish writings to denote pumpkins, squashes, or melons. Mange (18), in 1697, spoke of *melones* (probably muskmelons) and *sandias* (watermelons) as growing on the Gila and it is quite possible that these were grown from seed given by Kino, since this was ten years after his arrival. Other authorities state that watermelons were given the Indians by the Spaniards (27). Pumpkins were planted in the rainy season with an invocation like corn. When harvested [251] the rind was peeled off in a long spiral which was hung from the house roof to dry, after which it was tied into bundles and stored in jars. Muskmelons and watermelons are grown at only a few places, such as San Xavier, where there is plenty of water. No attempt is made to store them.

TOBACCO

[276]
249 **Coyote tobacco, *wiupuri (Nicotiana trigonophylla)***
Yaqui tobacco, *wiiw (Nicotiana tabacum)*

The first species used was the native *Nicotiana trigonophylla*, which grows wild on Elder Brother's mountain and is still used to some extent. In addition to this the Papagos and Pimas, at least fifty years ago, were cultivating the common tobacco *(N. tabacum)*. Seeds of this Yaqui tobacco, as the Papagos called it, were probably traded from Mexico. These seeds, in the possession of old men who did [431 436] the tobacco raising, were considered very valuable and sometimes given as gifts.

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

basket bowl constituted the drum, and a small basket might serve as a drinking cup. All these because of the hard usage received were usually made of willow throughout, but for the water-tight vessels willow was essential as it swelled and filled the interstices.

The water bottles (no longer used) were tall, slender bottle shapes with an incurving neck. They were smeared outside with a gum-like secretion from the white brittlebush *(Encelia farinosa)*.

The basket granaries seen were about three feet high and sloping up gradually from a two-foot base. The warp element was beargrass *(Nolina erumpens)* or wheat straw when the latter was available; the weft, mesquite bark *(Prosopis velutina)*. ((For details see Kissell, 16).

The tools for coiled basketry are awls with points of varying length, at present made of steel but formerly of mesquite wood, generally with a handle of creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)*.

COTTON SPINNING AND WEAVING

Weaving was a rare art practiced by a few old men. One who wanted a cotton blanket or skirt would trade for the cotton, either from the few who raised it or from the Pimas. He might be able to have the spinning done at home but generally he brought the load of raw cotton to the weaver, with the gift of a large basket, beads, or dried produce. This was the price for the weaving.

The weaver called in all his neighbors for a spinning bee, giving them their meals as pay. Both men and women could spin but it was a favorite occupation of old men. They first ginned the cotton by putting it in a basket bowl and working the seeds out with a stick. To separate the fibers the worker twanged his bow string over them, causing the topmost fibers to twist around the string. This method is described by Spier (23) for the Maricopa who perhaps learned it from the Pima. The cotton was spun on a spindle of arrow weed *(Pluchea sericea)* eighteen inches high, with

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$8 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

179 178 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Some material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its numbers for aid.

175 [79] 180 [236] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)